The Suffragist

FIVE CENTS

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

SEPTEMBER 5, 1914

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"Why do you give votes to Filipinos?"
"Because I believe in the 'New Freedom.'"
"Then why don't you let women vote?"
"I do not wish to be cross-examined."

Vol. II SEPTEMBER 5, 1914. No. 36

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

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Notes of the Week

Rules Committee Dodges Action on Suffrage

On Friday, August 28th, the Rules Committee met for the first time since June 10th. They reported favorably a rule for the consideration of the war risk insurance bill and for a bill extending self-government to the Filipinos. Action on suffrage was avoided by a motion to adjourn.

Petitions to Congress

Petitions continue to come in to Congress praying for speedy action on the National Suffrage amendment. Representative Kennedy ot Rhode Island, on August 26th, presented the "petition of Alva E. Belmont, of Newport, R. I., favoring the submitting of the amendment for woman suffrage at this session of Congress;" Representative O'Shaunessy of Rhode Island on August 29th presented the "petition of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont and others of Newport, R. I., favoring woman suffrage;" Representative Lonergan of Connecticut, on August 31, presented the "petition of certain citizens of Brandford, in favor of consideration of the woman suffrage amendment at the present session of Congress."

Again "Taxation without Representation"

THE Government is now experiencing a reduction of its revenue to the extent of two million dollars a week. To remedy this the President and his advisers have concluded to ask Congress for legislation for the raising of special war taxes. This is Federal action affecting women, for women will have to pay their share of these taxes. When women asked to be enfranchised by Federal enactment, the President referred them to the authority of the State, and yet President Wilson and his advisers do not hesitate to employ Federal action to increase the financial burden of women. Thus women are again reminded of the inconsistent attitude of the present administration.

Anti-Narcotic

THE Senate has had before it the Anti-Narcotic Bill, which was passed by the House and sent to the Senate over a year ago. This bill is of great interest to all women as it deals with the question of regulating the amount of opiates used in medicines, beverages and soothing syrups. Senator Lane said in part, in speaking on this bill in the Senate:

"Mr. President, I wish to call attention without any hope of accomplishing any change in this bill, to one of its provisions which I know is a bad provision. * * * I wish to say that there should be some restriction placed upon the manufacture and sale of such nostrums. I am informed that if each portion of this bill to which I have referred is not allowed to stay, the bill will be defeated; that the interests who sell these articles containing these pain killers, consisting of not to exceed two grains of opium to the ounce, are so strong and their influence is so great upon the executive officers of this government who have this matter in hand; upon this legislative body and the legislative body at the other end of the Capitol, that if I fight it and cause the elimination of that section the bill will fail and the traffic in opium and cocaine will go on."

Women and Medicine

A significant sign of the times is the announcement made this week by the University of Pennsylvania that women will be henceforth admitted to its medical school. It is stated that it is probable that the dental school will also be opened to women. Heretofore women have been admitted only to the graduate and law schools of the University, with the exception of certain teachers' courses and certain undergraduate work that were also open to them.

Indian Council Votes Favoring Woman Suffrage

CHIPPEWA Indians of the Bad River tribe Tuesday voted in favor of woman suffrage. The primary object of the council was to elect a committee of five to assist the Secretary of the Interior in preparing a roll of the unallotted Indians on the reservation, there being 500 or 600 in this class who still are entitled to their share of the tribal wealth.

"No Indian should oppose the right of our women to vote," said William Obern, one of the Indians. "The hardest part of the home falls on them. They own property, too, and know how to take care of it. They are more likely to vote for the real welfare of our people than the men."

English Women in Industry

The striking increase in the number of women in the various industries as shown by the newly completed census in England, has so aroused the authorities of that country that the Home Secretary has felt it necessary to issue a special message on that subject. The Home Secretary regards it as a menace that women should even displace men in industry and calls attention to the fact that during the war women will more and more take the place of men. Mr. McKenna asks the question, "What will happen when the men return from the war and find the position filled by the women?" Just what the answer is the Home Secretary does not seem to know. It has indeed taken a war to bring to Mr. McKenna's attention several obvious facts in regard to women. Fact No. 1 is, that women are in industry. Fact No. 2 is that they are in competition with the labor of men. Fact No. 3 is that when men are drafted for fighting purposes, women are necessary to industries. Fact No. 4 which puzzles the Home Secretary more than anything else, is that the working women and the returning men will become more intensely competitors for existence in the economic wage struggle and in this struggle the weaker is the one to survive. This is due to the fact that under the law of wages, wages always tend to the lowest point at which workers will consent to exist. If woman consents to exist at a lower wage than man, the woman will hold the place. The man, in that case, seems to be a problem to the astute mind of the Home Secretary. Perhaps Mr. McKenna will now see that both men and women are necessary in the industries and that both men and women need the protection of the law and both should have a voice in making it.

Woman's Social and Poliiical Union Issues a Manifesto of Peace

FOLLOWING on the announcement by Mr. McKenna in the House of Common of the unconditional release of all suffrage prisoners, the Women's Social and Political Union have issued the following manifesto to the public:

"We are convinced that under the joint rule of enfranchised women and men the nations of the world will, owing to the women's influence and authority, find a way of reconciling the claims of peace and honor and of regulating international relations without bloodshed.

"The Women's Social and Political Union nevertheless believe also that matters having come to the present pass, it was inevitable that Great Britain should take part in the war, and with that patriotism which has nerved women to fight for the rights and duties of citizenship on behalf of the national good, they ardently desire that their country shall be victorious. This because they hold that the existence of all small nationalities is at stake, and that the status of France and Great Britain is involved.

"Therefore, in view of the European war, the W. S. P. U. have decided to suspend hostilities and activities at once, now that their women political prisoners are released, and every member of the union will loyally abide by this decision."

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THE RULES COMMITTEE IN ACTION

At a meeting of the Rules Committee, called Friday morning, August 28th, at eleven o'clock, the committee again postponed action on woman suffrage.

The following members of the committee were present at the meeting: Mr. Henry of Texas, chairman; Mr. Pou of North Carolina, Mr. Garrett of Tennessee, Mr. Cantrill of Kentucky, and Mr. Goldfogle of New York, Democrats; Mr. Campbell of Kansas, Republican; and Mr. Kelley of Pennsylvania, Progressive.

The suffrage question was brought up by Mr. Campbell of Kansas, who moved that the committee take favorable action on House Resolution No. 514, providing for the consideration of the suffrage amendment in the House this session. A substitute motion was immediately made that the committee adjourn. A tie vote was cast on the substitute motion, Mr. Pou, Mr. Garrett, and Mr. Cantrill voting for the motion, and Mr. Kelly, Mr. Goldfogle and Mr. Campbell voting against it. Mr. Henry, as chairman, cast the deciding vote in favor of the substitute motion and the committee accordingly adjourned without having taken action on the suffrage resolution.

This meeting had been long looked for by suffragists all over the country, for the Rules Committee had not come together since June 10th of this year. The chairman was at last forced to call a meeting because it was necessary to bring the war risk insurance bill, an Administration measure, before the House. This bill had already been passed by the Senate and it was imperative that the House should consider it also.

On Friday morning a deputation from the Congressional Union went to the Rules Committee room to urge consideration of the suffrage rule. The deputation consisted of Mrs. Gilson Gardner, chairman, Mrs. M. E. Brooke, Mrs. S. B. McDuffie, and Miss Virginia Arnold.

At the door of the committee room, Mr. Henry's secretary declared that it would be impossible for him to take a message or a card to Mr. Henry.

"I should be glad, then," Mrs. Gardner said, "to send a card to other members of the committee."

"The chairman has given orders," said the secretary, "that no messages may be sent in to the committee room."

"I quite understand," said Mrs. Gardner, "that Mr. Henry can speak for the majority members of the committee; but surely not for the Republican and Progressive members, and I should like your permission to send word in to one of them."

The secretary maintained that this was against Mr. Henry's specific orders. Mrs. Gardner then went on very gently: "It is not the desire of the deputation to disturb the committee; but, on the other hand, it is the sense of the deputation that it is necessary to send the committee a message. What would you suggest that we do?"

The secretary thereupon took thought and said that a message might be sent in by telephone. Mrs. Gardner accepted the use of Mr. Henry's desk phone, called up Mr. Kelly in the adjoining committee room and asked him if he would bring the suffrage resolution to the attention of the committee. Mr. Kelly promptly promised to call up the suffrage resolution if it were possible to do so. This colloquy effectively brought the matter before the committee, and the motion to take action on the suffrage rule was made by Mr. Campbell, and shelved, as we have seen, by the Rules Committee chairman.

Before adjourning, the committee not only decided to report a rule providing time for the war risk insurance bill, which they were called to consider; they also brought up a bill increasing the rights of self-government in the Philippine Islands, and voted to have it acted upon in the House.

A statement was at once issued from suffrage headquarters commenting on the extraordinary stand of the Administration in going out of their way to give the Filipino man powers of self-government which they at the very same moment denied to American women.

Record of the Rules Committee

The action of the Rules Committee (which is, in the House, the big wheel of the Administration machine) in avoiding the question of woman suffrage last week by a motion to adjourn, leads one to think back over its full record on the suffrage question.

In the first (the special) session of the 63d Congress, the Rules Committee had before it a resolution to create a Committee on Woman Suffrage in the House. Mr. Henry refused throughout the special session to grant suffragists a formal hearing on this inoffensive resolution.

The hearing took place finally at the beginning of the first regular session, on December 5th. Early in January Mr. Henry announced to the press that his committee would act promptly, and expressed himself as being in favor of equal suffrage.

On January 17th the Democratic members of the committee met to consider the resolution informally. It was lost by a vote of 4 to 3; Mr. Henry, Mr. Pou, and Mr. Foster voting for the resolution; and Mr. Garrett, Mr. Hardwick, Mr. Cantrill and Mr. Goldfogle against it.

In January an "official" meeting of the full committee was held to register the private verdict of the Democrats. Mr. Henry absented himself from this meeting. Mr. Pou attended and voted against the suffrage resolution, which was lost by a tie vote of 4 to 4. There were actually six out of the ten active members of the committe who were on record as favoring the suffrage committee resolution; but the law of the caucus prevailed, and four Democratic votes swung the whole committee of ten.

Suffragists now took up undauntedly the Woman Suffrage Constitutional Amendment, and on May 5th secured a report of it, without recommendation, from the Judiciary Committee. A rule allotting time for the Suffrage Amendment was introduced and referred to the Rules Committee on May 13th. Mr. Henry said to deputations waiting upon him in the interests of the suffrage rule that it was out of the power of his committee to take action since the suffrage amendment had not been favorably acted upon by the last Democratic caucus. "You may tell this to the press, you may tell it to the newspapers," Mr. Henry said, "my hands are tied."

Early in June, however, Mr. Henry's view of his political helplessness weakened slightly. He promised to report out the suffrage rule, but could not be prevailed upon to state when he would do so.

On June 10th the committee met, but decided to postpone action on suffrage till July 1st. Mr. Henry left immediately for Texas. On July 1st a large deputation came to Washington to see Mr. Henry; but the promised meeting had been cancelled without notice to the public. Mr. Henry, it was announced, was still absent; and though a quorum of the committee was in town, the Democratic members declared they were strictly bound by a "gentlemen's agreement" among themselves not to meet. August 1st, when Mr. Henry returned to Washington, was set as the date of the next meeting. Mr. Henry returned August 3d, but no meeting of his committee was held till August 28th.

Meetings have all this while been urgently called for. The rule adopted for the conservation measures needed serious amendment before it could be presented to the House. Instead of calling a meeting of the committee to make the necessary changes, Dr. Foster, who had the conservation bills in charge, himself changed the rule before presenting it to the House—a most irregular proceeding.

Mr. Henry now states that he is "deliberately and unalterably" opposed to the suffrage amendment. It cannot, indeed, be doubted where he stands, nor the party which he represents.

Comments of the Press

At the first meeting it has held in two months the House Rules Committee today reported a special rule to make privileged the administration's bill for the creation of the Bureau of War Risks Insurance in the Treasury Department. The Democrats of the committee again dodged a vote on the suffrage and prohibition issues, fear of which has kept the committee inactive since June.—**New York Tribune, August 27.**

Over Half of the People in Washington
EAT CORBY'S BREAD--WHY?

Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

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Senate Resolution 130, and House Resolution 1

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE .—SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

Introduced:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon.

In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.

Referred:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.

In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:

In the Senate: June 13, 1913, favorable report.

In the House: May 5, 1914. Reported without recommendation.

Discussed:

In the Senate: July 31, 1913, twenty-two Senators in favor, three opposing.

September 18, 1913, Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, demanded immediate action.

On January 21, 1914, Senator Ashurst of Arizona, delivered a speech urging the passage of the Amendment.

Made unfinished business, March 2, 1914. Debated almost continuously from March 2d to March 19th.

Voted Upon:

In the Senate: March 19, thirty-five Senators in favor, thirty-four opposed, failing by eleven of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Reintroduced:

In the Senate: March 20, 1914, by Senator Bristow, of Kansas.

Reported:

In the Senate: April 7, favorable report.

Present Status:

In the Senate: On Calendar of Senate.
In the House: On Calendar of House.

Mr. Henry on Suffrage

Mr. Henry, chairman of the Rules Committee, announced last Saturday that he was "unalterably opposed" to the pending resolution proposing a woman suffrage constitutional amendment. "My deliberate judgment is against these amendments," said Mr. Henry, speaking of the woman suffrage and the prohibition measures, "and I shall oppose all of them."

The point to be remembered is that the measure Mr. Henry is now opposing is the resolution giving the representatives of the people in the House an opportunity to vote for woman suffrage or against it. The Rules Committee is not called upon to report favorably or unfavorably the woman suffrage amendment itself. That amendment has been acted upon by the House Judiciary Committee, which, after long thought, has reported it to the House for action. It is the duty of Mr. Henry's committee to consider the justice of providing time for this action. When he opposes such a resolution, he puts himself and his party on record as defying every principle of political fairness.

Women and Filipinos

The Rules Committee, which has, with devious manoeuvers but unwavering obstinacy, refused to allow a vote in the House on the question of women's enfranchisement, voted last week to report favorably a rule for the consideration of a measure granting increased self-government to the Filipinos.

In the eyes of women, the Administration is adding insult to injury when it deliberately chooses to give the men in the Philippines greater rights of self-government than the women of their own land. A certain type of man still questions the capacity of women to control their own affairs; but no reasonable human being could doubt that the twentieth century American woman, responsible and intelligent as she has grown to be, is not immeasurably the intellectual superior of the Filipino man. To enfranchise one without enfranchising the other indicates a sex bias which one would think a responsible politician in America hardly dared to reveal.

Suffragists are the last people in the world to wish independence denied to any race or class under our Government. They realize too keenly the incapacity of one class of people to govern another. Yet the unlimited enfranchisement of men in our country, of whatever race or creed or color, or character, or degree of education, coupled with the indiscriminate disfranchisement of women, they feel to be a burning injustice. When a committee which acts for the Administration in one of the Houses of Congress not only refuses to allow the representatives of the people to vote on the question of woman suffrage, but at the very same meeting goes out of its way to enfranchise an Asiatic race, still half civilized, it profoundly alienates women from the institutions of their country.

It is not as if the independence bill for the Filipinos was imperative at this time. On the contrary, it is rather an injudicious moment to have chosen for the selection of such a measure. The free discussion of it will lead to comments on the international situation in the Far East which are highly undesirable in the present unsettled state of Europe. The sole reason for forcing it upon Congress at the present time is to provide material for Democratic speeches in the November elections. But the material will not please all of our voters in November. It will certainly not be relished by the women voters.

The Seaman's Bill

THE Seaman's Bill has passed both Senate and House and is now in conference. The original bill has been somewhat weakened in the House and much is left to be desired in the section which deals with the safety of passengers at sea.

The Women Who Are Left Behind

OTHER things besides chain armor and flintlocks have become obsolete in modern warfare. Knitting socks for soldiers, for example. In our own Civil War one of the proudest occupations of the women left behind was the making of clothes for the men at the front. When the present war broke out the women of England, or many of them, instinctively began to organize for sewing and knitting.

Soon, however, it was felt that old-fashioned womanly help of this description was doing more harm than good. Thousands of girls and women, wage earners and supports of families, were put in danger of losing their jobs by the competition of these voluntary workers. Factories threatened to close. Finally Queen Mary was appealed to, and through her expressed wish the work of the Needlework Guild is to be carefully restricted and competition with wage earners avoided.

The little episode is a wholesome commentary on the changes in our home and industrial life from fifty years ago. Then the whole manufacturing system was in its infancy, a large part of all clothes making was still conducted in the home, and the factory employment of women on a vast scale was unknown. Today the modern way of life has, for good or ill, made woman an essential part of the wage earning class, and old charities must bow to new needs and responsibilities.

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THE NEWPORT CONFERENCE

Proceedings of First Day

Noted Suffragists from seventeen states, meeting in conference at Newport on August 29th and 30th, voted to unite behind the Bristow-Mondell amendment in Congress, and to support an active election campaign against candidates of the majority party in Congress. Over $7,000 was raised at the conference to meet the expenses of the campaign.

Marble House, the beautiful home of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, with its splendid hall, flooded with golden light, and hung with great silken banners, formed a rich and stately setting for the deliberations of the conference.

The first day was given to the consideration of two suffrage measures in Congress—the Bristow-Mondell and the Shafroth-Palmer amendments. Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, president of the Just Government League of Maryland, led the discussion, Miss Alice Paul presiding.

Mrs. Hooker said in part:

"I know from experience in Maryland that you cannot be in favor of two conflicting suffrage bills without being in the ungraceful position of falling between. As a matter of fact, one of the things which prevented our suffrage bill from going to a happy conclusion this year was the fact that certain people in Maryland thought that you could be strong for two things at the same time. The politician arranges the matter so that you will apparently defeat yourself. It is the oldest political trick on record.

"I suppose the reason I have been asked to talk about these two bills is because we have had the experience of working for two bills at the same time in Maryland. When I was a little girl I was taken out west—not because the women voted in the west; they didn't vote anywhere at that time—but because the west was a nice place to be. One day a native pointed out to me a man with his face all bandaged up, and said: 'If you want to know about grizzly b'ars, ask him. He has been chawed by them.'

"We introduced into the Legislature in Maryland a bill providing for a restricted suffrage for women. We had also simultaneously a bill introduced providing for full suffrage. The legislators said: 'If you women can't agree upon a single measure, how can you blame us?'

"It is all very well to say that by introducing restricted suffrage you will in the end get full suffrage. It is perfectly reasonable to say that you should progress by gradual degrees. But Humanity does not progress according to any logical plan—it progresses by leaps and bounds, and whether you like this sort of locomotion or not, you have to adapt yourself to it.

"Precisely what the men who had pledged to vote in favor of suffrage did was to vote some of them in favor of the state-wide bill and some in favor of the restricted bill, and we had not enough to carry either bill.

"Everybody in America, I take it, is in favor of the Bristow-Mondell amendment. Even the people who say that they wish to support the Shafroth-Palmer amendment say that in the end they wish the Bristow-Mondell amendment. Then why not work directly for it instead of putting up these two measures?

"I think it is hardly necessary to discuss the relative merits of the two. Even the supporters of the Shafroth-Palmer are willing to admit that it will not in the end satisfy them. When you see how far forward the Bristow-Mondell amendment is already carried, I think we can say that we will have only to wait three or four years to have that amendment passed. In view of that fact, is it wise to cut the ground from under the amendment which everybody wishes to have passed?"

MRS. HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH

President of the Women's Political Union of New York, Who Joined Last Week the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union

Mrs. Hooker then asked Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs to read the text of the two bills, which were given as follows:

The Bristow-Mondell Amendment

Senate Resolution 130, and House Resolution 1

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"Article .—Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"Sec. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

The Shafroth-Palmer Amendment

Joint Resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution, namely:

"Article —. Section 1. Whenever any number of legal voters of any State, to a number exceeding eight per centum of the number of legal voters voting at the last preceding general election held in such State, shall petition for the submission to the legal voters of said State of the question whether women shall have equal rights with men in respect to voting at all elections to be held in such State, such question shall be so submitted; and if, upon such submission, a majority of the legal voters of the State voting on the question shall vote in favor of granting to women such equal rights, the same shall thereupon be deemed established, anything in the constitution or laws of such State to the contrary notwithstanding."

Mrs. Stubbs then gave as follows the procedure leading to the national enfranchisement of women under the two amendments.

Under the Bristow-Mondell Amendment

1. Passage of amendment through both Houses of Congress by a two-thirds' majority.

2. Ratification, by majority vote, of three-fourths of State Legislatures.

Under the Shafroth-Palmer Amendment

1. Passage of amendment through both Houses of Congress by a two-thirds' majority.

2. Ratification, by majority vote, of three-fourths of State Legislatures.

3. Collection of initiative petitions in thirty-nine states.

4. Thirty-nine referendum campaigns.

Miss Paul said:

"One point against the new bill is that to have two bills before Congress simply allows Congressmen to play one bill against the other; and it divides Suffragists. Some are working really for one bill and some are working really for the other. We have already found how Congressmen do play one bill against the other. We had a vote in the Senate last Spring when we lost by only eleven votes. Senator Pittman of Nevada voted against us, in spite of the fact that he had supported the Bristow-Mondell amendment when it was introduced. Senator Borah, from Idaho, voted against this measure also. He was from a suffrage state. We felt positive he would have voted for this measure if there had been only one. Borah is a man with whom we have had to work a great deal. We had a conference of the National Council of Women Voters and got the president, Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe, to come and speak. Mrs. De Voe spent two weeks in Washington and went to see Borah nearly every day; she said he was safe, and we had every reason to believe he was. However, as you know, he has presidential aspirations. He wants to conciliate the people of the South and he still wants to keep the good will of the women voters of Idaho. Borah was the man who, according to Mrs. Booth, suggested this new bill and was of course very glad to vote against our bill, stating at the same time that he would support the new bill.

"We have never in the whole history of the country been so near to success. We have a powerful leverage in Congress. One-fifth of the Senate, one-seventh of the House, and one-sixth of the electoral college come from states where women vote in national elections. We are always hearing of the immense power of the Catholic vote, the Jewish vote, the Mormon vote. There is the same power in the woman's vote. When we reach this stage, to start in and work for a national initiative and referendum bill seems to me the very height of folly. At this moment our measure is on the calendar of the Senate and on the calendar of the House. This year, for the first time since 1892, we have had a favorable report in the Senate. Not since 1896 has there been any kind of report. Federal suffrage work had been dead. Not since 1887 had suffrage been discussed on the floor of Congress until the past session.

"Has anyone else anything to say on this subject?"

Mrs. Agnes Jenks, of Rhode Island, said:

"It is said that the Bristow Mondell amendment interferes with states' rights. Would not the new bill interfere with states' rights as much as the old amendment?"

Miss Paul said:

"Miss Kate Gordon, who is president of the Southern States' Suffrage Conference, said that it was a trial to them to think that they might have to face a federal suffrage amendment. They would take suffrage that way, of course, but they hoped to get it from their own state. But it was more than flesh and blood could bear to have to take not only suffrage federally, but also to have to take a national initiative and referendum measure federally."

Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, of Connecticut, said:

"I think there is one thing that we want to realize in connection with the cry of states' rights. The Constitution of the United States gives to each state the right to determine its own electorate and the Bristow-Mondell amendment does not interfere with that right in any way, excepting to say that each state shall not discriminate on the ground of sex."

Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, of New York, said:

"The fundamental idea lying behind amending the Constitution in regard to woman suffrage is that we do not have to come to a referendum in the states—that women who have been born and brought up in this country and perhaps whose ancestors for generations have been born and brought up in this country—the rights of such women are not to be determined by the votes of the last immigrants that have arrived on our shores. That has been the inspiration always lying behind this effort to settle this question by national amendment, and to my mind this Shafroth-Palmer proposal is so utterly ridiculous in the face of the whole inspiration of our movement that I cannot understand why any sane person could have entertained it for one instant. (Applause.) The only reason for wanting a constitutional amendment instead of working state by state is to avoid referendums. In heaven's name, do you propose to land us in thirty-nine referendums all at the same time? I feel personallv that we have too many referendums this year. We ought not to lose one. If we do lose one it is because we have too many on our hands. Think of having thirty-nine! Think of appealing to all the men of the South and all the foreigners in the North to vote whether we shall have the right to vote or not."

Mrs. Annie Porritt, of Connecticut, said:

"The one point I want to make is the point of economy. Speaking of thirty-nine referendums, let us take that in terms of money. In Connecticut we have spent for the state association something like $15,000 and the year is not finished yet. In every state we have got to spend in the same proportion. If we can concentrate on the Bristow-Mondell amendment, we can all turn our faces in one direction, and not in thirty-nine directions, and we can surely make an enormous gain in economy."

Mrs. Thomas Hepburn, of Connecticut, said:

"It occurs to me that it does not really matter what the opposition has to say. We all seem to be agreed that we should unite on some bill. Well, if we are going to, there is only one bill we can unite on, because the Congressional Union is determined to force the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and the National Association always has stood for the Susan B. Anthony amendment."

Mrs. Blatch said:

"I was going to suggest that one subject ought to be very carefully gone into and that is the growth of the initiative and referendum in the different states. Now, by leaps and bounds the states are adopting the iniative and referendum on all sides and we do not need to go to the labor of getting this national amendment in order to establish the iniatiative and referendum. The Shafroth amendment proposes the iniative and referendum on call of 8 per cent of the voters. Before it goes out of Congress, if it ever does get out, a much higher percentage will be substituted."

It was here moved by Mrs. Stubbs that Miss Paul appoint a committee to draw up a resolution endorsing the Bristow-Mondell amendment. This was carried.

Miss Paul appointed the following committee: Mrs. Annie Porritt, chairman; Mrs. Stanton Blatch, Mrs. John Jay White, Mrs. Florence Kelley, and Mrs. Helena Hill Weed. The members of the committee withdrew.

Mrs. Hooker said:

"The only objection that has been presented to me is this: if we proceed with the Bristow-Mondell it will inevitably fail if we can't win more states. When we have won a few more states, we shall then find it very easy indeed to pass the federal amendment which we all wish for. Thus the supporters of the Shafroth-Palmer amendment say that we shall never need to carry on thirty-nine referendum campaigns. We shall keep on winning states, reducing the number of unenfranchised states that have to be won by federal action to a very reasonable number. I should like very much indeed to ask Miss Burns to answer that particular objection because it is after all the root of the matter."

Miss Burns said:

"We have enough equal suffrage states now, and a large enough number of women enfranchised, to win the Bristow-Mondell amendment, if we only unite and work hard for it. We only need, after all, enough states to form a section of voters big enough to count in politicians' eyes at election time; and that we have already. If only we utilize it, we can get the Bristow-Mondell amendment through Congress and before the State Legislatures long before we could enact the Shafroth-Palmer amendment into law and begin to win referendum campaigns under its provisions."

Miss Paul here read the Treasurer's report, which was accepted by the Conference.

The Resolution Committee then returned; Mrs. Annie Porritt, chairman, presented the following resolution to the Conference:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting, since it is to the highest interests of the suffrage movement to have but one amendment before Congress, that all suffragists should concentrate their efforts, in the national field, on the Susan B. Anthony amendment."

The resolution was passed unanimously, but the following people were recorded as not voting: Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott, Miss Agnes Ryan, Mrs. Florence Howe Hall and Mrs. Wilfred Lewis.

The meeting was declared adjourned until Monday afternoon at three o'clock. The proceedings of the second day will be given in next week's "Suffragist."

Among those present at the Conference were: Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, New York, President of the Political Equality Association and member of the Executive Committee of the Congressional Union; Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Md., chairman of Finance of the Congressional Union and President of the Just Government League of Maryland; Mrs. Katherine Houghton Hepburn, President of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, President of the Women's Political Union of New York and member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union; Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Executive Secretary, Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government; Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, N. Y., member of the Executive Committee of the Congressional Union; Miss Elsie Hill, Conn., member of the Executive Committee of the Congressional Union; Mrs. Florence Kelley, N. Y., member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional

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Union and secretary of the National Consumers League; Mrs. Anne Sims, R. I.; Mrs Joseph S. Stevens, N. Y.; Mrs. William L. Colt, N. Y., member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union and chairman Political Committee of the 24th Senatorial District, Women's Political Union of New York; Mrs. Robley T. Evans, R. I.; Mrs. John Shepard, Conn.; Mrs. R. G. Shaw, Mass.; Mrs. Evans Sewall, R. I.; Miss Dorothy Osborn and Mrs. Richard Newton, N. J.; Miss Julia Case Nicol, Va.; Mrs. Louis F. Middlebrook, Conn.; Mrs. H. S. Luscomb, Mass.; Mrs. C. Z. Klauder, Penn.; Mrs. Nicholas Kelley, R. I.; Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, N. J.; Mrs. Florence Howe Hall, N. Y.; Mrs. G. M. Gallup, Conn.; Mrs. James Borden Estee, Vt.; Mrs. Frank Taylor Evans, R. I.; Miss Rosamond Danielson, chairman of Windham County League of Connecticut; Mrs. Evelyn Peverly Coe, Clerk of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. Toscan Bennett, Treasurer Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, Conn.; Mrs. Eugene R. Shippen, Mich.; Miss Caroline Katzenstein, Executive Secretary of the Equal Franchise Society of Philadelphia; Mrs. George Day, Conn.; Mrs. F. P. Bagley, chairman Congressional Committee of Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. James Griswold Wentz, N. Y.; Mrs. John J. White of Washington, D. C., member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union; Mrs. George A. Armes, President of the Wilson and Marshall League of the District of Columbia; Miss Elizabeth Harris, Mass.; Mrs. Agnes Jenks, Chairman Legislative Committee of Rhode Island Suffrage Association; Miss Eliza Hardy Lord, N. Y., former Dean of Western Reserve University; Mrs. Milton McNeilan, Vice-President Parkersburg Suffrage League and Press Chairman West Virginia Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. Arvilla MacDonough, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Ella Wood Dean, Ill.; Mrs. William Prendergast, N. Y., member of Advisory Council of the Congressional Union; Miss Mabel McDonough, Miss Franziska Boas, and Miss Theophile Trotter of New York; Mrs. Bohlin of New Jersey; Dr. Kate W. Baldwin, Pa.; Miss Emma Burk, Mrs. Maude Howe Elliott, Miss Ivy Haven, Mrs. Margaret Ducherty, Miss M. A. Kinderg, Miss Ingeborg Kindstedt and Mrs. Charles Biesel of Rhode Island; Miss Theresa Peyton, President, Minnesota Equal Franchise League; Mrs. Falkland MacKinnon, Wis.; Mrs. and Miss Whittemore, Mich.; Mrs. Jansen Haynes, Iowa; Miss Agnes E. Ryan, Mass., Assistant Editor of the Woman's Journal; Mrs. Annie Porritt, Conn., Press Chairman of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. Marsden J. Perry, R. I., member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union; Miss Caroline Fiske, and Mrs. Richard Wainwright, R. I.; Mrs. Sophie Meredith, Vice-President Virginia State Suffrage Association; Miss Catherine Fisher, Calif.; Mrs. Charles Webster Bell of California; Mrs. J. J. Brown, Colo.; Mrs. Mabel Cronise Jones, President of the Harrisburg (Pa.) Suffrage Association; Miss Ada James, Wis., member of the Advisory Council; Mrs. Wilfred Lewis, President of Philadelphia Equal Franchise Society; Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., member of Executive Board of Women's Political Union of New York and member of Advisory Council of the Congressional Union; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Dela., member of the Advisory Council and Delaware Chairman of Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage.

Garden Party at Hill Top

The last and most delightful session of the conference was held at Hill Top, which was given for the ocasion by Mr. J. K. Sullivan. The wide lawn was beautifully illuminated by rows of shining lanterns which came to a point at a great tree from whose branches was suspended the yellow amendment banner bearing the slogan of the Congressional Unoin, "We Demand the Passage of the Bristow-Mondell Amendment, Enfranchising Women."

Over a thousand people gathered on the grounds and grouped themselves around the platform which stood directly beneath the amendment banner. Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, of Connecticut and Miss Annie Kenney of England spoke to the guests, Mrs. Donald R. Hooker presiding. Mrs. Hepburn made a thrilling speech on the fight against commercialized vice in her own city of Hartford and proved as only her story can the need of political power in the hands of women. Miss Annie Kenney was then heard for the first time in America and the audience listened in deep silence to her story of the persecution inflicted on suffragists in England and the immense self-sacrifice and heroism of English women. Miss Kenney's voice is high and very sweet. She tells her story with extraordinary simplicity, almost like a child, but with ocasional deep glances into spiritual truths which have been born out of the depth of her own experience. The meeting lasted until late into the night and the audience waited solidly until all the speaking was finished.

Mrs. Hooker made a matchless collection speech and coined for the Congressional Union a collection of over six hundred dollars.

Star Spangled Banner Centennial Parade September 7th

SALUTE THE FLAG!

One hundred years ago we were at war with England. In the midst of the strife during the attack on Fort McHenry which guarded Baltimore, Francis Scott Key wrote "The Star-Spangled Banner."

Today we are engaged in a silent revolution. As women read the words of Francis Scott Key's tribute to the "land of the free" they realize that women have still to set their country free.

To achieve this end we must work, and work in the open. We must carry our banner in the Star-Spangled Banner Parade on Monday. We want a representation worthy of the Union. Cooperate with us now. Send in your name.

Special cars will leave New York Avenue and Fifteenth Street at 7:45 A. M. on Monday, September 7th. Tickets are being sold at reduced rates at Headquarters, 1420 F Street N. W. Price $1.20. Regular fare $1.50.

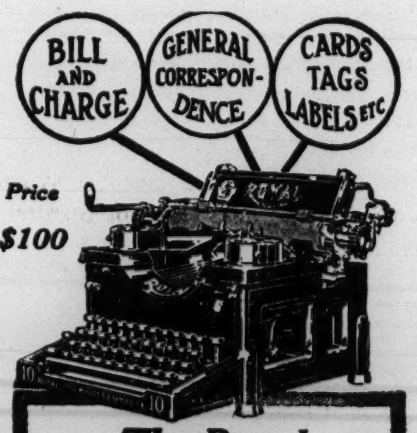
Wear white and regalia if you have it. Send in your name to march now.

Address all communications to
Miss Edyth B. Hanzsche,
1420 F Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.

PLEDGE TO MARCH
in the Suffrage Section of the
STAR-SPANGLED BANNER CENTENNIAL PARADE
BALTIMORE
Monday, September 7th, 1914, 11 A. M.

Name .....

Address .....



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SUMMER CAMPAIGN

Philadelphia Headquarters

On Saturday evening Reba Erb and I had a meeting at City Hall Plaza. This is the first time we had spoken at this spot excepting from an automobile. This time we mounted the stone paling surrounding our City Hall and held on to the iron railings for support. We had an interested audience of about five hundred people; about twenty-five different questions were asked, many of them were answered by men in our audience, and were answered so well that a man asked Miss Erb if we had our crowd with us to answer our questions. We adjourned our meeting at 10:45 and left about two hundred people listening to two members of our audience arguing the merits of suffrage. We hold meetings at this place twice a week and we find that we have regular attenders who have reached the stage where they want to answer the questions put to us.

On Monday evening we had a meeting in the manufacturing section, speaking from a "grape-juice box." We had an intelligent audience and at the conclusion a man came up and told me that he was a Democrat and was an anti until he came to our meeting. He said he "was converted and would not vote the Democratic ticket again unless that party brought up our bill this session." He made this statement publicly.

On Wednesday I received word to go to Atlantic City at once. I arrived in time to speak at the afternoon meeting; found Miss Smith doing wonderful work, all alone. I remain in Atlantic City until Mrs. Stubbs returns.

Anna McCue,
Congressional Union Organizer.

Atlantic City Headquarters

The successful campaign which Mrs. Stubbs has been conducting here this month is not slackening during her absence. Miss McCue speaks at four o'clock every afternoon on the "Working Woman's Need of the Ballot," in an auditorium filled with listeners who receive her with interest and enthusiasm.

Miss McCue and I attended the beach parade this morning, which was given to advertise the Star Spangled Banner Centennial in Baltimore, beginning this coming week. We carried the white "Votes for Women" parasol with a lettered border which reads "Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, Headquarters Exposition Building, Kentucky Avenue and Boardwalk," and attracted quite as much attention from the crowd as the paraders.

Several prominent suffrage workers, all Congressional Union members, have visited our booth during the past week, among them Mrs. W. C. Carter of Philadelphia, Mrs. Milton McNeilan of West Virginia, who was on her way to the Newport Conference, and Mrs. James M. McComack of Memphis, Tennessee. They are all very enthusiastic about our Atlantic City campaign.

Elizabeth Smith.

Nevada

MISS MABEL VERNON, who is assisting Miss Anne Martin, President of the Nevada Equal Franchise Society, writes:

Miss Martin and I have toured Eureka and Lander Counties during the past week by automobile. We left Elko last Saturday morning and proceeded directly to Buckhorn, where an interested audience heard us speak that evening. On Sunday a meeting was held at Mineral Hill as we passed through on our way to Eureka.

The Eureka County Equal Suffrage League, under the leadership of Mrs. Rudolph Zadow, gave us a most enthusiastic reception Sunday evening. The people of Eureka, augmented by parties from Ruby Hill, the Windfall and the Diamond, gathered before the court house Sunday night to hear us. The sympathy of the audience was plainly with our cause.

On Monday we departed for Austin, where a meeting was held Monday night. Former Senator Miller introduced us.

On Tuesday the journey was made to Battle Mountain, en route to Reno.

Last week suffrage speakers made their way at sunset one evening out onto the hay fields of the San Jacinto ranch, near Contact. A hay crew of about twenty-five men grouped about the tents and lying on the ground listened to our appeals to vote for the suffrage amendment. When we had finished, every man in the camp (except the cook) declared himself in favor of suffrage, and every one of them put on a votes for women button, promising to wear it until November 3rd.

During the past month we have toured Humboldt, Elko, Eureka and Lander Counties and find that there is no opposition worthy of the name to be found in the northern part of the state.

According to the canvass we have recently made in Lamoille, Ruby, Clover and Star Valleys, the ranchers of Elko County, practically without exception, are going to vote "yes" on the suffrage amendment. The same hearty endorsement of suffrage is found among the women, who declare they are not only willing but even eager to use the franchise.

Mabel Vernon,
Congressional Union Organizer.

Members Who have Secured New Subscribers

August 23 to August 29

Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict	14
Miss Elsie Hill	1
Miss Elizabeth Smith	1
Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs	1
Miss Mabel Vernon	20
	37
Previously acknowledged in "The Suffragist"	155
Total to August 29	192

Note.—Through a typographical error of the typesetter, after corrected proof had been sent in, the item "Total Receipts" in the Treasurer's Report in the August 29th issue, was printed as $22,886.51," whereas it should have read $22,866.51. In the Expenditures, in the same report, there was an error of one cent—the item "Training Organizers from outside of Washington" should have read $61.80.

Treasurer's Note

Contributions Toward $50,000 Fund for Securing the Passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment

(Fund opened December 7th, 1912. Donations membership fees and tickets are here listed; receipts from the purely business departments of "The Suffragist" and the Literature Committee are not included.)

List of Contributions from August 7th to August 29th, 1914

Mrs. Alden Potter	$15.00
Miss Taylor	9.30
Miss Elizabeth Smith	.40
A. and L. Jenny	1.00
Miss Anna Churchman	.50
Miss Elsie Hill	.50
Mr. H. S. Morris	3.75
Mr. F. F. Smith	1.00
A Friend	1.00
Anonymous	.75
Mr. C. H. Ingersoll	10.00
Miss McClure	1.00
Miss Winifred Mallon	1.00
Miss Mary McKnight	2.00
Mrs. Bertha M. Jenks	25.00
Mr. Marsden J. Perry	150.00
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker	50.00
Mrs. Cornelius Mundy	1.00
Mrs. Elmer Mitchell	1.00
Miss Rachel Howland	2.00
Mrs. Elizabeth Fairlamb	.25
Miss Elizabeth Eckerd	1.00
Mr. Francis I. du Pont	3.00
Mrs. W. F. Carnes	1.00
Mrs. Mary C. Brassington	2.00
Mrs. C. W. Schogrin	1.00
Miss Mary Conkle	5.00
Mrs. Alexander K. Gage	1.00
Wilmington, Del., Equal Suffrage Association	5.00
Mrs. W. S. Quigley	.25
Mrs. Leonard Yerkes	1.00
Miss Amy Dunlap	4.00
Miss Elizabeth Geary	2.50
Miss Anne S. Hall	2.00
Mrs. Arthur W. Lawrence	.75
Mrs. Sarah M. Scofield	.75
Anonymous	.26
Anonymous	3.00
Miss Ruth A. Noyes	5.00
Mrs. Abigail Pimm	2.00
Miss Caroline Foulke	5.00
Mrs. Olive Hasbrouck	3.00
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles	25.00
Misses Anna and May Dabney	1.25
Mrs. Harry Lowenburg	5.00
A Friend	1.75
Miss Mary Gay	5.00
Miss Clare S. Currier	2.00
Mrs. Paula Jakobi	5.00
Mrs. F. C. Howe	5.00
Miss Alice B. Beer	5.00
Miss Laura Cregan	25.00
Mr. W. E. Brightman	5.00
Mrs. Anne Sims	5.00
Mrs. W. O. Jones	1.00
Anonymous	.65
Miss Marguerite Wallace	.50
Mrs. W. B. Butler	1.00
Miss Mary de Vou	1.00
Collections	59.89
Membership Fees	69.56
Sale of Tickets	69.00
Total	$616.96
Previously acknowledged in "The Suffragist"	$39,663.71
Total to August 29th, 1914	$40,280.67